

## EXHIBIT "B"

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR NON-PARTICIPATION IN  
JAPANESE AGGRESSIONSTATEMENT OF INCOME AND PROFIT AND LOSS  
For the Three Months Ended June 30, 1939 and  
From August 1, 1938 to June 30, 1939

	FOR THE THREE MONTHS ENDED JUNE 30, 1939	FROM AUGUST 1, 1938 TO JUNE 30, 1939
<u>INCOME</u>		
Contributions and Sales	\$21,516.16	49,721.65
Speakers Income	2,895.05	5,541.95
Miscellaneous		44.77
<u>TOTAL INCOME</u>	<u>24,409.19</u>	<u>55,308.35</u>
<u>EXPENSES</u>		
Printing	1,793.88	5,217.48
Salaries	6,278.92	16,435.97
Postage and Mailing	2,900.80	10,355.67
Stationery and Supplies	465.41	2,048.24
Rent	654.76	1,783.43
Telephone	382.53	861.55
Telegraph	132.64	360.35
Traveling and Entertaining	553.12	1,454.78
Multipographing and Mimeographing	1,458.20	1,672.60
Equipment Rental	132.18	410.71
Management Service		765.64
Auditing	60.00	445.00
Publicity and Advertising	1,581.03	2,556.52
Speakers Expense	2,452.36	5,381.91
Interest on Loans		29.28
Washington Office Expense		100.00
Contributions to Cooperating Organizations		25.00
Newspapers, Periodicals, Clippings, etc.	75.28	164.33
Insurance	66.00	66.00
Rally Expenses (Net)	8.68	8.68
New York State Unemployment Tax	304.80	304.80
Miscellaneous	31.70	191.92
<u>TOTAL EXPENSES</u>	<u>19,550.93</u>	<u>48,603.30</u>
<u>EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENSES</u> <u>(TO EXHIBIT "A")</u>	<u>\$ 5,058.26</u>	<u>6,705.05</u>

Note: Since June 30, there has been no systematic effort to secure additional funds for the Committee's work although the program continued unabated throughout most of July. During August a reduction in working staff and in the program of activities has enabled the Committee to continue solvent. It is estimated that by September 22, the net cash in hand will have been reduced to \$500. A new appeal for funds in order that the Committee may continue its broad program of activities is being planned. It is expected that a broad financial appeal will be sent out about the middle of September.

Dr. Robert E. Speer  
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April 27, 1940

see what can be done. It might be that we could at least publish a "white list" of companies concerning which there was information that they are not doing business in war materials with Japan, and then try gradually to extend this white list, giving it adequate publicity.

Your suggestion on this has been very much in my mind and in that of others on our Committee. We do hope that effective government action may be taken within a short time and before Congress adjourns.

Thank you again for your thoughtful suggestion. After you read the enclosed letter and have a chance to look at the booklet, any further recommendations from you will be most gratefully received.

Cordially yours,

*Harry*

HBP/h  
Enclosures

*Our greetings to Marnie when you write.*

Rev. M. P. Boynton, D. D.  
Pastor Woodlawn Baptist Church  
Pres. Ill. Vigilance Ass'n.

Rev. S. Gilbert Cox, D. D.  
South Bend, Ind.

Arthur Burrage Farwell  
Chicago Law and Order League

Mr. Wirt W. Hallam  
Ill. Vigilance Ass'n.  
American Mission of Lepers  
Chicago Vice Commission  
Chicago Society of Social Hygiene  
One of Organizers of American Social  
Hygiene Association

Robert C. Hardy  
Attorney at Law  
111 W. Washington St.

Mrs. Alice Hyatt Mather  
Executive Secretary Boys' and Girls  
International Anti-Cigaret League

Rev. Dr. John Timothy Stone  
President Presbyterian Theological  
Seminary, Chicago

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR  
CHINA FAMINE AND FLOOD RELIEF

INC. NOT FOR PROFIT

82 West Washington Street

Chicago, Illinois

Tel. State 2153

OFFICERS

Wirt W. Hallam, Pres.  
Robert C. Hardy, Treas.  
Mrs. Alice Hyatt Mather  
Sec'y & Ass't Treas.

May 20th, 1940.

Dr. Robert E. Speer,  
24 Gramercy Park,  
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Speer:

We believe a loan of One Hundred Million Dollars, more or less can and should be had exclusively for China's sick, war wounded and famine sufferers if men and women of the highest type, who are interested in the subject as you are, will make their best efforts for it. I am past 70 and cannot give it the work it needs.

Kindly look over the enclosed, and let us know what you can do. Voluntary donations are going to be almost impossible.

Yours very truly,  
American Association for  
China Famine and Flood Relief

per *Wirt W. Hallam*  
WIRT W. HALLAM.



American Association for China  
Famine and Flood Relief  
82 West Washington St.  
Chicago, Illinois

May 20th, 1940.

*from*  
DANGER TO LIFE AND BUSINESS ~~IN~~ ASIA

There are dangers from Asia that are confronting American business in a greater and more disasterous way than the majority of American business men have any realization of.

It is useless to talk to most people on the subject, because they base their opinions on a great lack of knowledge of the facts, but some of the best informed people we can find agree with us that the danger is serious and will result in the ruin of hundreds, perhaps thousands of American manufacturers and in throwing millions of American men and women out of employment.

First: Japan is working in every way she can to cut all ~~white~~ nations out of China. - This does not look like a serious matter to most <sup>people</sup> in the U.S. Normal China trade is only about \$200,000,000 per year, and Japan has been larger, but China's trade is the greatest undeveloped market possibility in the World today. An awakened China could bring prosperity to all the white nations in the world as soon as wars can be stopped and international trade restored.

On the other hand, Japans own Army Officers have been saying for 10 years or more that if they can control China it will make Japan the richest, most powerful and most feared nation in all the world and will do it within ten years from the time they can get control.

Second: Before the "Chinese Incident" the Japanese manufacturers were making many imitations of American manufactured articles and selling them in the U.S. for less than they could be produced for in the U.S. Bicycles made in Japan sold for \$5. against U.S. bicycles at 25 - Autos for \$300.00 delivered in Canada, - Cotton socks @ 2¢ to 5¢ per pair against 10¢ to 20¢ Cotton goods of all kinds undersold U.S. cotton goods in Chicago and over the U.S. American flags cost \$7.50 per 100 in U.S., and \$1.50 in Japan, and many other articles in proportion.

If Japan should win or be able to hold even Manchuria and North China, Japan will have natural resources in many ways quite the equal of the U. S. and at half or less than half the cost of the same things in the U.S. No other nation in

the world will be able to get these supplies at any where near the low cost that Japan can get them. In addition, the low wages that will prevail in China and Japan, will make the finished products so cheap that very few nations will be able to compete with Japan. Japanese labor costs today are about 1/10th the labor wages in the United States in almost every line of work.

If China can get control of her country again she will use her ~~natural~~ resources and her cheap labor largely to rebuild herself. In any case there will be some trouble from "Asiatic cheap labor" just as there was before the Chinese, Japanese and Asiatic exclusion laws were enacted by the U. S. to keep the laborers from Asia out of the U.S. so as to protect the wages and living standards of American Labor.

But if Japan wins there will be a way to break down that exclusion of her citizens and Japan will be strong enough to do it. People who say Japan will be weak and exhausted do not know what they are talking about. If Japan should get whipped completely by China, Japan would then be only a small second rate nation, but mildly dangerous even then.

But if Japan wins or comes out on a 50-50 basis in the war with China, she will be a strong unscrupulous, ambitious, troublesome nation - and it will not be an easy matter for the U. S. to guard its 5,000 miles of coast line from smugglers or war ships. All talk about our wide oceans being our protection is only partly true - Under some conditions it becomes a 5,000 mile war front that must be protected every mile of it from smugglers or traitors or war ships, or ocean thieves. In past years Japan has stolen American salmon, American seals, we do not know what else out of American waters close to or upon American shores.

If rumors and vague reports from China are to be credited Japan smuggled many times the legal amount of opium into the U. S. during the past 2 years. Japan does this because there is a money profit to Japan and the Japanese and also because Japan deliberately wants to undermine the health and character of an enemy or a "foreign devil" although Japan has very strict laws about her own people using narcotics of any kind, and Japan enforces them in order to save her own people, while unhesitatingly trying to ruin any foreign people Japan can make a profit on.

The above is all a big problem - too big for us to handle alone. The writer has been in business and welfare work for 50 years, and has had a rather wide range of experience, but it took several years for him to realize how large ~~and how large~~ and how dangerous the Asiatic - "New Order in East Asia" really is.

There should be a strong active committee of American business men to look into this matter thoroughly, and they should have the cooperation of the best business and patriotic or welfare



organizations in the United States. This is not a matter of few months or even a few years, but for many years perhaps for a thousand years to come for it is a matter of race against race. - It can be honest, fair and cooperative but there is great danger of its being war after war in which the brown races will have 2 or 3 or 4 times the man power of the white race. At the present time the military or navel strength of the white race is far greater than the brown races, but that may not always be the case. Germany might arm Japan so that the combination could make great trouble. Or if we sell war material to Japan and machinery and give her time to train her men - the free men of the white race would have plenty of trouble to protect themselves.

In 1932 and '33 we urged a number of prominent Chinese famine relief people to get the Chinese Government to put up security that would eventually be good, safe security and establish a credit that would enable them to buy U. S. surplus wheat and cotton. They made the trade with Pres. Roosevelt in April, 1933, and bought a total of about \$9,000,000. worth of wheat and \$6,000,000. worth of cotton. The wheat was used to feed more than 145,000 Yellow River Flood sufferers in 1933, - and China has paid about 2/3rd of that loan and did not stop paying until Japan had taken possession of all the large coast cities and the Chinese Government withdrew into the mountain country of West China. Some day China will be a rich nation, and pay all that debt. At least that is the writer's firm belief.

Two years later we tried to arrange for a \$25,000,000. on the same basis so that China could get men, medicine and hospital supplies for China's sick war-wounded and famine sufferers. That program was blocked by political influences in Washington, and also in China and by strong opposition from Japan. As a consequence Japan has made a successful war upon China - while more than a million sick wounded and homeless Chinese have suffered for lack of the food, and care they could and should have had. In addition such help as that would have made Japan's progress in China far more difficult.

We were not strong enough to push that program as it ought to have been pushed at the time. In addition we were new at such problems and when high government officials in Washington said it might get us into war with Japan we did not know how thoroughly wrong they were. Events since have shown that our failure to act has enabled Japan to acquire a power that made Japan today many times more dangerous to the United States than she ever was before in all history. Anybody who thinks Japan is weak, and exhausted is, in our opinion, far from correct.



It sometimes sounds very satisfactory to say China will win - just look at her great man power - but people forget that man power against war machinery means terrible suffering. How long can China's "man power" stand such horrible suffering? In addition the women and children suffer when cities are bombed. Then there are the terrible diseases which afflict thousands ~~of~~ <sup>or</sup> hundreds of thousands when war drives people from their homes. There is also the question of famine caused by floods or by farmers being driven far from their homes and farms, or caused by the Japanese army raiding Chinese territory and taking the supplies away to feed the Japanese invaders.

Reports from China show that her people are fighting on with a bravery that is heroic and are at the same time working hard to build new homes in the mountains of West China.

Altho a few years ago we figured on twenty five million dollars for China's sick and wounded, China needs more today,- perhaps fifty million, perhaps one hundred million dollars. Someday China will be rich again, and she will be able to repay a hundred million dollars as easily as the U.S. can do it. The U.S. could hardly find an investment as good as to lend China what China needed to take care of her war and famine victims, - The U. S. has spent ten times the amount to destroy food in the past seven years. It has loaned many times \$100,000,000 to struggling enterprises in the U. S. and has given ten or twenty or thirty times \$100,000,000 to unemployed or to W. P. A. workers - so that a loan to China for her sick wounded, homeless, or famine victims would in no way injure the people or the business of the U. S. In fact it would be a help to some business and someday would be an enormous help to our import and export business because if China is free when this war is over she will be the largest buyer in all the world as soon as she can start to rebuild her coast country and coast cities.

Some place in the Old Testament it says, that to obey the laws of Jehovah makes foolish men wise - It is often true that when a man does not know what to do about a problem,- it often pays ~~him~~ him to sit down and figure out the right and wrong, and then do the right regardless of seeming difficulties- Such a program often proves that he was wiser than he realized at the time.

It is certainly right to help relieve human suffering when we can. We certainly can do a great deal to help relieve war sufferers in China or any where in the world. It is certainly right and we believe it is the wisest thing humanly possible.

Yours very truly,

American Association for  
China Famine and Flood Relief

WIRT W. HALLAM.

cc: Wirt W. Hallam

# *The American Committee For Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression*

Hon. Henry L. Stimson  
*Honorary Chairman*

Henry I. Harriman  
A. Lawrence Lowell  
Robert E. Speer  
William Allen White  
H. E. Yarnell  
*Honorary Vice-Chairmen*

8 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

CHickering 4-6390      Cable: NOPARTI

Roger S. Greene  
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B. A. Garside  
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*Vice-Chairmen*  
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*Treasurer*  
Mrs. Grover Clark  
*Corresponding Secretary*  
Harry B. Price  
*Executive Secretary*

COPY

Our new booklet "Shall America Stop Arming Japan?" is just off the press. It is an up-to-date restatement of the whole question, with supplementary charts, maps, quotations, and cartoons. A copy is being sent to you by this mail. I hope you will have time to examine it and that you will feel that it presents the issue fairly and effectively.

A frank statement of the question has invariably enlisted a warm and overwhelmingly favorable support for our cause. For this reason we hope to secure the widest possible distribution for the booklet.

We should like to send it to all members of Congress, to editors of newspapers in every city in the United States, to leading business men, educators, lawyers, ministers, doctors, to heads of national and local civic, church, business, labor, and social organizations. We should like to do this as part of a strong and promising effort now to secure some action before Congress adjourns.

For this, we lack the necessary funds. By your generous support in the past, you have proven yourself a friend of this movement. Now, once again, for this strong final effort, we are turning to you personally to ask for your help. Whatever you can give now will enable us to secure for this booklet a wider and more telling distribution, which, to be effective, must be prompt. I hope that a reading of the booklet will give you a renewed sense of the significance of what you have already done toward the success of this movement to end America's role as "Japan's Partner". May we hear from you as soon as possible?

Very sincerely yours,

*Harry B. Price*



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## PROVIDENCE Y.M.C.A. SCHOOLS

160 BROAD STREET

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

TECHNICAL INSTITUTE  
BUSINESS INSTITUTE  
SUMMER SCHOOL  
NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY  
PROVIDENCE DIVISION

February 14, 1939

Dr. Robert E. Speer  
156 Fifth Avenue  
New York City

My dear Dr. Speer:

Like every American who has ever lived in China, I am deeply concerned about the present condition of that country and its future welfare. I know that you, also, are interested in China. You have thought much, I am certain, about what is taking place there and I feel sure you have ideas as to what China's friends in America can do to assist the people of that country.

The purpose of this letter is to ask you whether you know of some plan not yet tried which can be launched to curb the further depredations of the invading Japanese armies.

Dr. Hu Shih says that China is literally "bleeding to death." Must we, here in America, stand unprotesting any longer and see the "death" become an accomplished fact? Can we not discover or evolve a new method of approach to this problem which will bring the cruel aggression of Japan to an end?

It is generally agreed that if the people of America would work together in the interests of humanity in some plan, possibly a commercial boycott, Japan would have to withdraw her armies from China within two or three months' time. If this is true, what are the steps to bring about this united action? Several movements now in operation seem to present commendable plans, but these, somehow, have not been able to capture the imagination of our people at large, and the results of their efforts, thus far, have been comparatively negligible.

Does not the present situation call for a new movement that will appeal to the large majority of Americans, one which will lead them to the point of willingness to abstain from use of anything made in Japan, and a general acceptance of the principle that nothing should be sent to Japan that will continue the present warfare? I believe that China has thousands

Dr. Robert E. Speer  
February 14, 1939

of friends among Americans who will be glad to do what they can to help in this crisis if some workable plan could be proposed. It is the popular opinion, I believe, that 98% of the American people favor the side of China against Japan. If this is true, there must surely be some method to effect a utilization of this interest to save China. I am afraid that if we do not soon discover some process of action that China, before long, may be laid desolate, beyond the possibility of "recovery" in our day.

I shall greatly appreciate your answer to this letter, and I trust that some effective plan in which we may all co-operate may be evolved in the very near future.

Very sincerely yours,

*L. Newton Hayes Luther*  
L. Newton Hayes  
Divisional Director

LNH:AM

P.S. - Will you kindly address your reply to me at my home at 179 University Avenue, Providence R.I. and not to my office, as given above - Thanks! L.N.H.



April 25, 1940

Colonel Henry L. Stimson  
West Hills  
Huntington, Long Island

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Colonel Stimson:

On last Thursday afternoon I had a forty-five minute talk with Secretary Hull, and I should like to report to you rather fully on it.

In response to an initial comment that his statement with regard to the Netherlands Indies seemed most timely and effective, Mr. Hull remarked that it had involved seventeen hours of work without sleep in co-operation with his associates in the Department. He said that the Japanese aim was apparently to set forth a claim of special interest in relation to the Dutch East Indies, with some arrangement with Germany in mind in case Holland should be invaded, which claim, if it remained unchallenged, might be regarded as a definite principle in connection with Japan's relation to these islands. It was his desire, he said, to deal with this claim while raising the whole issue to a plane of important principles.

Mr. Hull then asked how things were going with our Committee's work. I remarked that we had tried to emphasize constantly these same principles, keeping in mind the total changing international situation and the basic requirements of a more enduring peace and security in the Pacific. (He remarked that the work of the Committee had been "exceedingly valuable" and that it was "to be congratulated" on all that had been accomplished up to the present time.) I said that the response to our efforts had been tremendous and that because of this, and of the contacts now maintained with practically every group in the country that was really interested in this question, we had been in a position to set the tone for a good deal of the discussion and that we had tried to keep the presentation of issues on a broad plane.

I also said that we had hoped to conserve the great interest and momentum that had developed in relation to this question for the transitional periods that lie ahead and for the positive questions of reconstruction in the future. (Mr. Hull remarked that these should by all means be conserved.) I said that we had also tried to maintain a tone of confidence in and support of the Department of State as it dealt with the immediate and difficult problems involved, mentioning ways in which we had also cooperated as far as we could in connection with the revision of the Neutrality Law. (Secretary



Colonel Henry L. Stinson

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April 25, 1940

Hall said that he realized this, and, although I had not mentioned your name, he took occasion to speak in the highest terms of you as being "true blue.")

I then remarked that this maintenance of a tone of support for the Administration on this question had become increasingly difficult during recent weeks because an increasing number of our supporters were beginning to take us to task for seeming to "knuckle under" to an Administration which, it was said, "was not really going to do anything to stop our war trade with Japan." Some of our supporters were telling us, I said, that the situation itself was too urgent to permit further "backing" of a policy of virtual "appeasement" - that China faced serious inflation; that her bumper crops could not continue indefinitely; that the longer Japan remained in control of her present conquests, the more securely entrenched she might become; that the longer the Far Eastern conflict dragged on, with help from the United States, the greater would be the danger of Japan's involvement with European powers; that the longer China was unable to get really substantial help from the "democracies" or even a stoppage of their help to Japan, the more she would be pressed to turn to Russia for support on whatever terms she could get it; that the longer the present situation continued, the more China would be unable to furnish her part in a balance of power that might be increasingly needed in the Far East; and that if Congress adjourned without doing anything, the Japanese would endeavor to take full advantage of the difficulties of effective American action during an election year. I said that I hoped he would understand my telling him quite frankly of this developing attitude among many of our supporters, and he nodded approval. I said that among these people there were those who were beginning to urge strongly a policy on our part of outright criticism of the Administration for taking only a strong diplomatic stand "while allowing 95% of our more important economic support to Japan to continue unchecked"; for failure to represent public opinion which was 75% in favor of stopping the extensive war trade with Japan; for actually "blocking action" which Congress apparently would be ready to take if it had assurance with regard to the attitude of the State Department; for failure to realize that "unwillingness to make a positive decision is in reality a negative decision of the utmost gravity, tending to give victory to that nation which really threatens our own interests and future peace." All of this, I added, increased our difficulties in maintaining an attitude of constructive support for the State Department in its Far Eastern policy at the present time.

To this, I added that personally I would much prefer that we maintain as far as possible an attitude of constructive support, but that unless there were some positive hope of action, it would become increasingly difficult to maintain such an attitude or to keep the cooperation of many thoughtful people who had given active and loyal backing to our movement.

Mr. Hall said in response to this that they had step by step given what help they could to China and furnished from time to time restraints



Colonel Henry L. Stinson  
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April 25, 1940

upon Japan - that Chinese morale was strengthened by the recent loan and that there were evidences that the Japanese were becoming more discouraged. Recognizing the increased dangers for the near future, however, he said that he would like to see an embargo law passed, but that, as he had remarked to Mr. Pittman, he would not like to see a law introduced and then have it fail of passage. He went on to comment upon the special tendency toward partisanship in an election year and referred to the fact that on the trade agreement question the Republican press was predominantly in favor of a continuation of the trade agreement program, yet the Republican vote was quite solid against it, so that the entire program was maintained by a margin of only two votes. He remarked that there were of course a few "like Stinson, who can be depended upon to take a statesmanly position," but that the situation was such, particularly on a combustible question of this kind, that there was a danger of its being made into a partisan issue. He added, in all fairness, that the Democrats were equally culpable when it came to "playing politics." He asked whether we had attempted a poll of the Senate recently on this question, and suggested that if we did undertake such a poll now, it should be a request for statements in writing.

Mr. Hull went on to say that there would be a series of conferences and a very thorough weighing of the question in all of its aspects in ample time before Congress adjourned. If such legislation is introduced, he said, they would want "some kind of a statement from us. What do you think that we should say?" I replied that of course he would know much better than I possibly could, but that since he had asked, it would seem unwise if he could simply say that it might be well if, in a changing situation, Congress could give to the Administration adequate authorization for dealing with the question as it developed after the adjournment of Congress.

If such a law is passed, he questioned further, "do you think that people would demand an immediate application of it?" I replied that if a law were passed on a discretionary basis, it would imply both confidence and a desire that the State Department should take into account all necessary considerations of timing, the possible cooperation of other powers, the effects of particular embargoes upon the strategic situation, etc. Undoubtedly there would be pressure for some application of the law with respect perhaps to certain categories. At the same time, the very fact that the law had been passed would have a tremendous effect in both Japan and China, and it would place the Administration in a very strong diplomatic position both in the United States and in its dealings with Japan.

Mr. Hull came back at the end to our Committee's work, saying that we should not be discouraged, that it was very important that we go ahead, and he very kindly said at the end that I should "come in at any time."

On the whole, it seemed to me that the conference showed evidence of Mr. Hull's thinking in more immediate and concrete terms about the question than at any previous time. I am inclined to think that this is



Colonel Henry L. Stimson  
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April 26, 1940

due partly to the perils of the situation, inherently as well as in relation to Europe, and partly to a very large volume of correspondence that has recently been directed toward the Administration, in which an increasing number of influential people and organizations have participated.

It is my impression that people in the State Department would prefer not to have a mandatory embargo law, and that such a law is not very likely to be passed without their approval. On the other hand, it seems increasingly true that they would be glad to have a discretionary law if they are sure of its passage without the raising of a political storm over "getting the country into war." It appears, therefore, that the crucial question is that of obtaining definite assurance that the issue will remain bi-partisan, and that Congress, particularly the Senate, does indeed reflect the prevailing support of public opinion for such action.

Following this talk which, incidentally, was at Mr. Greene's suggestion, I discussed with him the ways and means for taking a poll of opinion in Congress, and, after consultation with others, we are going ahead with plans for this. A copy of the questionnaire card which we are using is enclosed.

Meanwhile, I have been wondering whether it would be possible for you to mention the question in some way to a few Republican members of Congress. You once spoke of Mr. Wadsworth. Some of Senator McNary's constituents in Oregon have reported to us that he definitely favors an embargo on war supplies to Japan. Congressman Eaton of New Jersey has introduced a bill very similar to that of Senator Schwollenbach. I enclose a few quotations from letters of other Republican members of Congress.

I have been trying to think of a way in which this might be done with a minimum demand upon your own time and energy. Two or three possibilities have occurred to me, but I hesitate to suggest them without first ascertaining your own ideas. One method might be simply a short personal note to some selected members of Congress, accompanied by a copy of our new booklet summarizing the whole issue, which came from the press yesterday.

A copy of this booklet is enclosed. We secured the help and criticism of several authorities in preparing it, and I hope that you will feel that it presents the issue fairly and effectively. A special printing has been made for members of Congress, omitting the suggestions printed on the back cover.

The time, of course, is getting short, and I would appreciate an opportunity to talk with you for twenty or thirty minutes soon if you feel that you can possibly arrange it.

With highest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Kobe, Japan,  
December 4, 1939.

52 Kakao Cho

Dear Friends:-

This letter bears our heartiest greetings and best wishes for Christmas and the New Year. Please pardon the fact that we have not been able to write personal letters to most of you, for the pressure of things close at hand makes this most difficult. And then the prevailing censorship rather discourages the writing of all that we might under other circumstances.

The Lord has been very good to us as a family during the past year and we have been spared serious illness and other afflictions. Our eldest son, Wilfred, went to California this past summer and is now living with his paternal grandparents in Oakland, with a view to studying at the University of California. Mary-Katharine is still attending the P'yongyang Foreign School in Korea, where the climate and other factors seem to be most agreeable. The four younger children are at home and attend the local Canadian Academy. While the social life here is not as wholesome as we would desire, it seems best to keep them with us at this time.

With Japan pressing her program of a "New Order in Asia," the pressure of things economic is becoming increasingly acute. People are being urged to either curtail or give up the use of such "luxuries" as milk, butter, cheese, eggs, sugar etc. and are exhorted to eat less food of all kinds. However, the rapid increase of tuberculosis and certain other diseases would indicate that this is a dangerous policy. An 80% reduction in canned goods and other consumption economies are being planned for the new year. The regular importation of even necessities is most difficult and it is only as things come as gifts that it is possible to get them in without serious complications.

While the American abrogation of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was at first a distinct shock to Japan, any wholesome effect is being largely neutralized by the fact that no publicity is given to the real reasons for this action. It is made out that America is jealous of Japan on account of her increasing influence in the Far East; or that England and America are chagrined because they can no longer exploit China to their heart's content. The people here are kept in absolute ignorance of the more serious abuses or wrongs which the army has committed in China, and thus the speech of Ambassador Grew is not being taken as seriously here as it deserves. And it appears that we are to look for a worsening of American-Japanese relations with its possible serious effect upon Christian work. The government is being urged to follow an independent policy, without regard to the attitudes of other nations. The movements of foreigners in Japan is being controlled more strictly than ever, and all are required to secure residence permits which are good for only one year. Thus, we are obliged to apply for new permits in May. This will simplify the matter of forcing undesirable residents to return to their native lands.

The so-called "Spiritual Mobilization Movement" is really a move to secure the supremacy of State Shinto in all areas of Japanese life, as well as in the various spheres of Japanese control and influence: Korea, Formosa, Manchuria, China etc. 1940 is the alleged 2600th anniversary of the founding of Japan, and extensive plans are already being made to make this the year when this pagan religion of nationalism, based on its conception of a divine Emperor, shall come to its own. "The Religious Organizations Control Bill" has finally been adopted and will actually be put in operation early in 1940. While this will give a legal status to Christianity, it also puts the Christian Church strictly under State control and will greatly simplify the matter of



transforming the Church into an instrument of the State; and in doing this there is great danger that they will have the support of the Church. Each local church as well as each denomination must appoint an official representative who shall be held responsible by the government for the character and affairs of that body. Actually the police will be the controlling agency in any given local situation. While theoretically there should be no interference except as a church may interfere with the duties of subjects, the fact is that among these duties are shrine worship, worship of the palace etc. Certain well-meaning Christians and missionaries ~~and~~ have denied the religious nature of the latter act, even though the Japanese word means "to worship at a distance." However, just last year two cabinet ministers clarified this issue, when they stated that "worship of the Imperial Palace means worshipping at the Grand Shrine of Ise at the same time, as the Imperial Palace has the Kashikodokoro (sanctuary) within its precincts," and the Emperor performs all his religious functions before the latter. It is of course beside the question to argue that this is not worship in the Christian sense, for no pagan worship is of the same high order as the worship of the True God. These state shrines are under the Home Department, which is now engaged in organizing a "deities bureau" to control the making of deities, for even dead soldiers ~~become~~ deified beings when they are properly inshrined in the Yasukuni Shrine, and a recent newspaper article reported how a large number of people had thereby become the fathers, mothers, wives, sisters etc. of gods. It is only as the Educational Department directs schools etc. to attend the shrines that it is not religious. But this in no way effects the religious ceremonies which take place on such occasions. The so-called sects of Shinto are under the jurisdiction of the Educational Department and are regarded as religious, and this in spite of the fact that their shrines and deities are identical with those of the State Shrines. In other words there is no real meaning in the distinction between religious and non-religious when it comes to State Shinto. It is a powerful pagan religion around which the thought and life of Japan and her dependencies is being made to circle more and more. To conform to any of its practice is to be disloyal to Christ; to make obeisance to Caesar instead of to Christ. And the pity of it is that many schools and churches are now trying to save themselves by compromise with this pagan system. And this matter becomes even more serious when we realise that State Shinto and the Religious Organizations Control Bill are to be imposed upon China, at least in the occupied territories, and the only Christianity which will be tolerated will be that which comes to terms with the State religion. May God enable His Church to stand true in this time of crisis and come out of it victorious and strong.

A number of our Seminary students here have been drafted for army service, so that we have a much smaller number of Japanese students than usual. The number of Korean students is proportionately large because the theological schools of Korea are closed. Our new school year begins in April and we are praying that God will raise up a goodly number of Japanese students in spite of the war. In these days when the more public work of Gospel proclamation is becoming more difficult, the training of future evangelists and pastors is a work which has strategic importance, as we look to the future of the Church. But the school does need God's protecting care as never before, for it is our purpose to continue to take an uncompromising stand for the Faith and to avoid all compromise.

Please pray for Japan in these days, and for the Church, and for us that we may ~~utterance to boldly make~~ have utterance to boldly make known the Gospel.

Yours in Christ

Gordon and Katharine Chapman

*Gordon L. Chapman*

*P.S. Heartly thanks for the fine Life of George Bowen which we have read with great interest and profit and shared to others.*



Copy

ROCKLEDGE  
LAKEVILLE, CONNECTICUT

Jan. 11, 1940.

Dear Mr. Hull,

I beg leave to add my appeal to the many appeals you must be receiving that you use do everything in your power to secure the imposition of an embargo on the sale of military supplies to Japan when the denunciation of our Trade Treaty with Japan becomes effective. We appreciate all that you have done in the exertion of moral influence and we trust that now legal action may be taken - acts to prohibit all trade but effectively to prevent the export of war materials used by Japan in her treaty-breaking aggression in China.

With you we are opposed to war with Japan and fear none. It would not be declared by us and we do not believe it would be declared by Japan. In view of her treaty obligations Japan can have no just cause of grievance against us for adhering to our engagement not to participate in any aggression against China. We do participate

if we continue to supply them with the means of  
oppression.

Thucydides represents the Corinthian delegates as  
saying at the Congress at Sparta, B.C. 432, "The  
true author of the subjugation of a people is not so  
much the immediate agent, as the power which  
permits it, having the means to <sup>prevent</sup> it." We are  
supplying the means to effect it.

Very respectfully,  
Yours,

Wm. G. Sumner



# *The American Committee For Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression*

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November 30, 1939

## PERSONAL

Dr. Robert E. Speer  
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Dear Dr. Speer:

Colonel Stimson recently invited a selected group to join in an informal exchange of views with regard to the developing situation in the Far East. For your confidential reference, I am happy to enclose a synopsis of this discussion.

With sincere regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Enc.  
HBP:A

*Harry*

*I called you to extend an invitation  
to this luncheon, but you were, unfortunately,  
away.*

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PEIPING, CHINA

American Office  
150 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y.

December 18, 1939

To Yenching Trustees  
and Other Friends:

Enclosed is another confidential letter described as a "postscript" to the letter we sent you on November 30.

Next week we will be sending Dr. Stuart and his colleagues a cablegram of Christmas greetings and assurances of our continuing friendship and support.

*B. A. Garside*

BAG:ms

Secretary